

## FURTHER NOTES ON TWO UNEDITED MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *LIVRE DE L'ORDRE DE CHEVALERIE*

The only thorough textual study of the French version of Ramon Lull's Catalan *Libre de l'orde de cavalleria* is Vincenzo Minervini's edition, which includes descriptions of eleven of the French manuscripts and a lengthy set of 16 tables establishing the relationships among these manuscripts.<sup>1</sup> In 1980 Anna Cornagliotti identified another manuscript —JB II 19 dell'Archivio di Stato di Torino— and established its affiliations with the manuscripts studied in Minervini's edition;<sup>2</sup> and in 1983 Minervini added to his earlier work brief descriptions of two additional manuscripts —Toulouse, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 830, and New York, Columbia University, Plimpton MS. 282.<sup>3</sup> This essay describes the Toulouse and New York manuscripts more fully and offers extensive evidence for their affiliations with the other exemplars of the *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie*.

A list of the known extant manuscripts follows:

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<sup>1</sup> Vincenzo Minervini, ed., *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie*, Biblioteca de Filologia Romanza 21 (Bari 1971). References to the edited text are noted throughout my essay by page and line numbers. For the Catalan text see Albert Soler i Lloper, ed., *Llibre de l'orde de cavalleria*, ENC A127 (Barcelona 1988).

<sup>2</sup> «Un manoscritto sconosciuto della versione francese del "Tractat de cavalleria" di Ramon Llull (JB II 19 dell'Archivio di Stato di Torino),» *Miscel·lània Aramon i Serra. II. Estudis Universitaris Catalans* 24 (1980): 157-66.

<sup>3</sup> «Postilla lulliana,» *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale* 25.1 (Naples 1983): 333-41. Minervini notes Ian Short's notice of these manuscripts in *Romance Philology* 29 (1975): 127-28 as well as J. N. Hillgarth's earlier listing in his *Ramon Lull and Lullism in Fourteenth-Century France* (Oxford 1971): 154n21.

- A — Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS français 19810 (14th c.)
- B — Paris, Bib. Nat., MS fr. 1130 (a fragment; 15th c.)
- C — Paris, Bib. Nat., MS fr. 1972 (15th c.)
- D — Paris, Bib. Nat., MS fr. 1973 (15th c.)
- E — Paris, Bib. Nat., MS fr. 19809 (15th c.)
- F — Paris, Bib. Nat., MS fr. 1971 (end 15th c. - beginning 16th c.)
- G — Oxford, St. John's College, MS 102 (14th c.)
- H — London, British Library, Additional MS 22768 (15th c.)
- I — London, Brit. Libr., Royal MS 14.E.ii (ca. 1480)
- M — Toulouse, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 830 (late 15th c.)
- L — Edinburgh, National Library, Advocates MS 31.1.9 (ca. 1532)
- N — New York, Columbia Univ., Plimpton Collection, MS 282 (early 15th c.)
- T — Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS L.III.14 (end 14th c.)
- T2 — Turin, Archivio de Stato, MS JB.II.19 (15th c.)<sup>4</sup>

Minervini's conclusions about the relationships among these manuscripts (except, of course, for M and N, which he did not include in his edition, and B, which is fragmentary) are offered schematically in a stemma.<sup>5</sup> Three prints were made in the early sixteenth century: Paris, 1504, by Antoine Vérart; Paris, 1505, by Michel le Noir, apparently simply reset from Vérart's edition; Lyon, 1510, by Vincent Portunaris.<sup>6</sup>

## Description

The Plimpton manuscript (N) is described briefly by de Ricci and Wilson: «*Jacobus de Cessolis, Le Jeu des échecs moralisé*, translated from Latin into French by Jehan de Vignay (ff. 1-78); *L'Ordre de chevalerie* (ff. 79-104). Vel. (early XVth c.), 104 ff. (25 x 16 cm.). XVIth c. white vellum binding.»<sup>7</sup> A summary of the little that is known of the

<sup>4</sup> I have examined microfilms of all these manuscripts except T and T2. See Minervini, *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie* 42-43 for a description of T, damaged by fire in 1904. (In a letter of 8 July 1991, A. Giaccaria of the Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, Torino, describes T as «scarsamente leggibile.») For more extensive description, transcriptions, and photographs of T, see Mario Ruffini, «Un Ignoto MS. della Traduzione Francese del "Libre de l'Orde de Cavalleria" di Raimondo Lullo,» *EL* 2 (1958) 77-82. For description of T2 and a thorough study of its affiliation, see Cornagliotti.

<sup>5</sup> Minervini, *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie* 69; Cornagliotti offers an expanded stemma of the  $\beta$ -group (164), and Minervini, «Postilla lulliana,» suggests the placement of M and N in his earlier stemma (339-41).

<sup>6</sup> Regarding these prints, see A. T. P. Byles, ed., *The Buke of the Ordre of Chyualry*, by William Caxton (EETS, OS 168; London 1926) xix-xxii; Minervini's remarks about the prints (*Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie* 24) are brief and inaccurate. I have examined microfilm copies of all three prints, those of 1504 and 1505 from copies held in the British Library, that of 1510 from a copy in the Newberry Library, Chicago.

<sup>7</sup> Seymour de Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York 1935-1940) 2.1805.

manuscript's history follows this description in de Ricci and Wilson.

On the basis of examination of a microfilm copy of fols. 79-104, I add the following observations. N is written in a small facile hybrid text hand.<sup>8</sup> In comparison with the later hand in Prou, N's hand is more regular, its letters are kept more vertical (esp. *l*, *f*, and long-*s*), and the *e* does not break as is characteristic of later fifteenth century French cursivas. Superfluous marks of abbreviation seem to be virtually nonexistent in this manuscript, and the text is only lightly punctuated. On the other hand, frequent heavily written paragraph marks appear in the text.

Prologue and chapters begin with large capitals, one to four lines high, decorated with small loops and designs around and in the letters and with flourishes extending above and below the letters into the left margin. Pages regularly have 32 written lines, occasionally 31. N is missing at least two leaves between fols. 100 and 101; 100<sup>v</sup> ends with the words «les chevaliers soient»<sup>9</sup> and 101<sup>r</sup> begins with the words «vaincre ton orgueil.»<sup>10</sup>

The Toulouse manuscript (M) is succinctly described by the *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques*, thus: «Parchemin; 20 feuillets; hauteur, 201 millimètres; XV<sup>e</sup> siècle. . . . Dérelié.»<sup>11</sup> Study of a microfiche copy of the manuscript and of the manuscript itself in Toulouse has yielded the following observations. In 1951, M was rebound in tan leather by the Atelier de Reliure of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The leaves of the manuscript itself are about 20.2 cm. high by 13.5 cm. wide; the written space is about 12.2 cm. high by 8.8 cm. wide and is uniformly ruled with 31 lines per page. The hand is small, a set/facile book hand, less *courante* than the hand in N and with greater separation between the letters —a hand appropriate for a decorated presentation book.<sup>12</sup> The first line of each chapter is calligraphically decorated. The folios are numbered as follows: 1<sup>r</sup> is marked «1» in the bottom right corner; 2<sup>r</sup> is marked «2» at both top and bottom right; 3<sup>r</sup> and following recto folios are marked 3/4, 4/5, and so on, throughout the manuscript.

M is tentatively datable between 1469 and the 1480s by its connection with Louis XI (reigned 1461-1483) and especially with the Ordre de Saint-Michel, instituted by Louis in 1469.<sup>13</sup> The first page is decorated

<sup>8</sup> For a similar hand, see Maurice Prou, *Manuel de paléographie latine et française* (4th ed. Paris 1924) Album, Plate 19.1.

<sup>9</sup> Minervini, *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie* 159.2.

<sup>10</sup> Minervini, *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie* 165.20.

<sup>11</sup> *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements* (Paris 1849-1885) 7.481.

<sup>12</sup> The hand in M is similar to the bastard secretary of Plate 15.1 in M. B. Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands* (Oxford 1969).

<sup>13</sup> For an account of the Order see Arnaud Chaffanjon, *Les Grands ordres de chevalerie* (Paris 1969) 22-31.

with a heraldic device, described as follows by the *Catalogue*: «l'écusson suivant en bannière, de gueules au semi de fleurs de lis d'or, avec le collier de Saint-Michel . . . »<sup>14</sup> The latter consists of 15 coquilles d'or (St. James' shells, or scallops) joined by gold and red knots, from which depends a gold medallion depicting St. Michael slaying the dragon. The *Catalogue* posits original ownership of the manuscript thus: «ce sont les armes des Châteaubriant, et le volume a dû appartenir à René de Châteaubriant, chevalier de l'ordre de Saint-Michel, qui vivait en 1489 . . . »<sup>15</sup> The connection with Louis XI is strengthened by the words «Louis par la grace» scrawled in the lower margins of fols. 13<sup>v</sup> and 16<sup>r</sup>, in addition to a lone «Louis» with a number of other scribbles in the lower margin of 14<sup>r</sup>, though these references to the founder of the Order could be mere nostalgia.

Folio 1<sup>r</sup> and the first page of each chapter are decorated with «joli encadrements»<sup>16</sup> —foliage in blue, gold, green, and red. In addition, at the beginning of each chapter is a rectangular decoration, approximately 15 lines high by half the written space wide. These comprise a gold outline, enclosing a broader band of red, sometimes with wavy gold lines in it, around a pinkish-cream central rectangle; the decoration of this central area varies as follows:

- Chapter 1 (fol. 1<sup>v</sup>): miscellaneous vegetation and three gold-centered, red, roselike flowers having tiny petals.
- Chapter 2 (fol. 3<sup>v</sup>): none of the rose-like flowers but larger flowers, three blue and four red; in addition, two leaves with buds, one blue, one red.
- Chapter 3 (fol. 6<sup>r</sup>): four blue flowers and five finely drawn strawberries.
- Chapter 4: the beginning missing from the manuscript.
- Chapter 5 (fol. 8<sup>v</sup>): three blue flowers, one blue leaf-and-bud, and five flat-ended lozenge shapes (fruit or flowers?).
- Chapter 6 (fol. 11<sup>r</sup>): three blue flowers, five red rose-like flowers, one green strawberry (?), and two green leaves with blue dots.
- Chapter 7 (fol. 14<sup>v</sup>): five blue flowers and three red rose-like flowers.

<sup>14</sup> *Catalogue général*, 7.481.

<sup>15</sup> *Catalogue général*, 7.481.

<sup>16</sup> *Catalogue général*, 7.481.

Chapter 8 (fol. 19<sup>r</sup>): a narrower and browner border than usual; three blue flowers and five finely drawn thistles, green and pink with small bristles.

Various scribal and (apparently) later marginalia appear, some decorative in intent, some mere doodling. The most potentially significant marginal notation is the name «Jacques Lougarre,» which appears several times in the lower margin (4<sup>v</sup>, surname twice; 5<sup>r</sup>, 5<sup>v</sup>). The *Catalogue* identifies this confidently as «nom d'un autre possesseur»;<sup>17</sup> the hand looks later than the scribe's fifteenth-century hand, perhaps 16th century.<sup>18</sup>

The Toulouse manuscript is in relatively poor condition and is missing as many as 12 leaves. Mildew or other water damage has affected parts of fol. 1<sup>r</sup> and other early portions of the volume, but from fol. 15<sup>r</sup> on, the leaves have been generally affected by water stains or other damage; the following have extensive losses of legibility: 16<sup>r</sup>, 16<sup>v</sup>, 17<sup>r</sup> (here a nap has actually been raised on the surface of the parchment), and 18<sup>v</sup>.

At least one leaf is missing between fols. 2 and 3: 2<sup>v</sup> ends with the words «n'avoit veu»;<sup>19</sup> 3<sup>r</sup> begins «dist il.»<sup>20</sup> About 10 leaves are missing between fols. 7 and 8, including the end of chapter 3 and the beginning of chapter 4: 7<sup>v</sup> ends «aux sangliers et aux» with «autres bestis» written almost off the bottom of the page;<sup>21</sup> 8<sup>r</sup> begins «L'escuier qui desire.»<sup>22</sup> A leaf is missing between fols. 14<sup>v</sup> and 15<sup>r</sup>: 14<sup>v</sup> ends «qui sont racine»;<sup>23</sup> 15<sup>r</sup> begins «chose diverse.»<sup>24</sup> Another leaf is missing between fols. 15 and 16: 15<sup>v</sup> ends «chasteté et forcéte»;<sup>25</sup> 16<sup>r</sup> begins «et appareilli[e?] a mal faire.»<sup>26</sup>

## Affiliations

Comparison of N and M with Minervini's Table 1,<sup>27</sup> clearly identifies the general affiliations of these manuscripts, N aligning itself consistently

<sup>17</sup> *Catalogue général*, 7.481.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Prou, *Album*, Plates 21.1 and 22.

<sup>19</sup> Minervini, *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie* 81.6-7.

<sup>20</sup> See Minervini, *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie* 85.4.

<sup>21</sup> See Minervini, *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie* 104.2-3.

<sup>22</sup> See Minervini, *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie* 132.15.

<sup>23</sup> Minervini, *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie* 155.10.

<sup>24</sup> Minervini, *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie* 158.9.

<sup>25</sup> See Minervini, *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie* 161.7.

<sup>26</sup> Minervini, *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie* 164.13-14.

<sup>27</sup> Minervini, *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie* 45.

with EGLT in Minervini's  $\alpha$ -group of manuscripts, M aligning itself consistently with ACDFHI in his  $\beta$ -group. My Table 1 demonstrates this affiliation by presenting readings from N and M with the items from Minervini's table.<sup>28</sup>

The place of N in the  $\alpha$ -group may be posited by comparing N's readings against those reported in Minervini's Tables 2-8 (which list *lectiones singulares* of E, G, L, and T and demonstrate the lack of evidence for further subgrouping within the  $\alpha$ -group), by supplementing that material with further comparisons, and by developing a list of *lectiones singulares* for N itself. To these ends I have compared N with the other manuscripts of the  $\alpha$ -group in five more or less randomly selected passages.<sup>29</sup>

Probably the most obvious result of these several comparisons is the remarkable failure of the members of the  $\alpha$ -group to form any clear groupings among themselves, even with the fifth witness (N) added.<sup>30</sup> Comparing N with Minervini's lists of *lectiones singulares* leaves most of these readings unique. In Minervini's second table<sup>31</sup> N agrees with E once, the omission of *gentil* at 96.11; my own comparisons reveal no further unique agreement between E and N. In Minervini's fourth table<sup>32</sup> N agrees with L but once, another shared omission;<sup>33</sup> my own comparisons reveal two other unique agreements between N and L: at 85.15 NL read *en tenant* beside EG's *en tenir*, and at 86.11 NL read *affin* beside EG's *pour*. Minervini's fifth table<sup>34</sup> reveals only one unique agreement—again, a shared omission—between N and T.<sup>35</sup>

A comparison with Minervini's third table<sup>36</sup> is more interesting. Here, N agrees with G in eight (of 23) instances against ELT; my own comparisons add three items to the list. My Table 2 lists the results of these comparisons. Slight tendencies toward a G-like text appear in N, then, but no indubitable relationship can be demonstrated on this evidence. As

<sup>28</sup> References in Minervini's edited text are noted in the first column of each table. Wherever relevant, I have checked Minervini's critical apparatus for variants in T; I have not verified T's readings independently.

<sup>29</sup> Fols. 81<sup>v</sup>-82<sup>r</sup> (Minervini, *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie* 85.1-88.20), fol. 84<sup>r</sup> (Minervini, *Livre* 96.6-98.8), fols. 94<sup>r</sup>-96<sup>r</sup> (chapter 5, Minervini, *Livre* 136-43), fol. 97<sup>r</sup> (Minervini, *Livre* 145.12-146.18), and fol. 104<sup>r</sup> (Minervini, *Livre* 176.5-177.14).

<sup>30</sup> For this conclusion about EGLT, see Minervini, *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie* 55.

<sup>31</sup> Minervini, *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie* 46-47.

<sup>32</sup> Minervini, *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie* 49-52.

<sup>33</sup> Minervini, *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie* 52, referring to 121.6-7.

<sup>34</sup> Minervini, *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie* 52-54.

<sup>35</sup> Minervini, *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie* 52, referring to 93.3. My own comparisons have added a number of *lectiones singulares* to Minervini's lists for E, G, and L: for E, 4 readings; for G, 13 readings; for L, 32 readings.

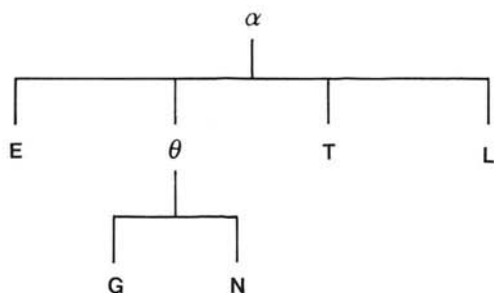
<sup>36</sup> Minervini, *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie* 47-49.

indicated in my Table 3, comparison with Minervini's Tables 6-8<sup>37</sup> reveals the same inconsistent tendency toward readings related to G.

The independence of N within the  $\alpha$ -group is indicated by Table 4, a list of *lectiones singulares* exhibited by N in the passages used in my own comparisons.

I summarize my findings about the affiliation of N as follows: (1) N is clearly part of the  $\alpha$ -group (Table 1). (2) Within that group, N tends to agree with G and against L: Tables 2 and 3 show these tendencies. In addition, the numbers cited in note 44 reflect readings wherein N agrees with G 37 times (against G, 15) but against L 38 times (with L, 18). The substantial overlap in shared readings suggests, however, that it remains impossible to posit a further split in the  $\alpha$ -group (EGNT vs. L). Minervini has suggested, on the other hand, that G and N may derive from a common antecedent ( $\theta$ ).<sup>38</sup> (3) N nonetheless remains independent of every other member of the  $\alpha$ -group (Table 4).

These conclusions suggest the placement of N in Minervini's  $\alpha$ -group as follows:



<sup>37</sup> Minervini, *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie* 54-55.

<sup>38</sup> «Postilla lulliana» 339.



Because of its missing leaves, M cannot be comprehensively canvassed for its relationship to Minervini's ninth table,<sup>39</sup> which establishes two subgroups of the  $\beta$ -group manuscripts: the  $\gamma$ -group, comprising FD ( $\epsilon$ ) and HA ( $\zeta$ ); and the  $\delta$ -group, comprising CI. To supplement the material in Minervini's Tables 9, 15, and 16<sup>40</sup> and to develop a representative list of *lectiones singulares* for M, I have compared M with the manuscripts of the  $\beta$ -group in five more or less randomly selected passages.<sup>41</sup>

Table 5 lists items in Minervini's ninth table for which M has corresponding readings (nine of Minervini's 21 items). Table 6 adds readings from my own comparisons. A handful of readings from the canvassed passages associates M with readings from Minervini's  $\gamma$ -group (sometimes against, sometimes with C and/or I). Notwithstanding such crossovers between groups—many of them part of the common tradition in any case—the data in Tables 5 and 6 clearly suggest that the  $\delta$ -group comprises CIM.

M and C agree only once in the items presented in Minervini's Table 16, which presents *lectiones singulares* of C, all from the early parts of the text: the reading *lise* at 86.11 is omitted in both M and C. My own comparisons have garnered additional examples, as Table 7 indicates.

Similarly, M and I agree only twice in the items presented in Minervini's Table 15, which presents *lectiones singulares* of I, again, all from early parts of the text: IM agree on «celuy arbre» against «ce pommier» at 78.6, and IM agree in omitting «et les arbres, qui environ luy estoient» at 78.7. My own comparisons, however, have found a fairly impressive list of readings peculiar to IM in the  $\beta$ -group, particularly in later parts of the text, presented in Table 8.

That M is independent from both C and I, however, is demonstrated by M's exhibiting a significant number of *lectiones singulares* within the  $\delta$ -group, as indicated in Table 9.

The evidence of the foregoing data suggests the following conclusions about M's affiliations: (1) M is clearly part of the  $\beta$ -group (Table 1). (2) Within that group, M is more closely associated with the  $\delta$ -group manuscripts CI than with the  $\gamma$ -group manuscripts ADFH (Tables 5 and 6). Such crossovers as do occur demonstrate no consistent patterns of relationship and may generally be explained in terms of independent scribal

<sup>39</sup> Minervini, *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie* 56-57.

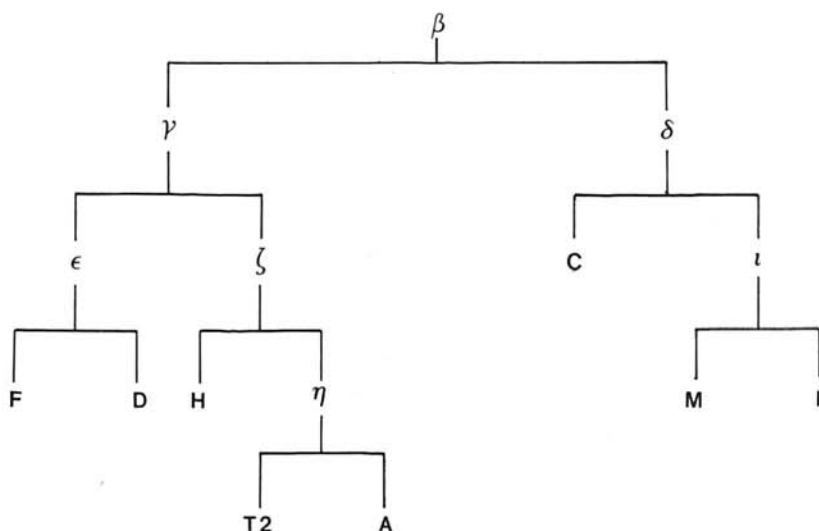
<sup>40</sup> Minervini, *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie* 65-68 (Table 15; 17 of the 48 items in this table occur in passages missing from M) and 68-69 (Table 16; four of the eight items in this table occur in passages missing from M).

<sup>41</sup> Fol. 4<sup>r</sup> (Minervini, *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie* 88.7-89.14), fol. 6<sup>v</sup> (Minervini, *Livre* 98.5-99.17), fols. 8<sup>v</sup>, 20-11<sup>f</sup>, 13 (chapter 5, Minervini, *Livre* 136-43), fol. 12<sup>v</sup> (Minervini, *Livre* 147.6-148.21), and fol. 20<sup>f</sup> (Minervini, *Livre* 176.12-178.1).



activity or error or as part of the general tradition. (3) M shares readings uniquely with both C and I, but its relationship to I is more striking than its relationship to C (Tables 7 and 8). (4) M is nonetheless independent of I; more precisely, I appears to be more radically independent of the  $\delta$ -tradition in C than is M. (5) Such a conclusion, together with the shared IM readings, suggests that M retains some readings, at least, from an earlier point in the tradition than those represented by I, a conclusion corroborating Minervini's suggestion that «[MS I] non derivi direttamente da  $\delta$  ma da un ulteriore antografo intermedio che avrebbe già presentato una parte di quelle innovazioni.»<sup>42</sup> (6) Nonetheless, M is clearly not a direct antecedent of I.

Incorporating these observations, Cornagliotti's conclusions, and Minervini's «Postilla lulliana» with the stemma in Minervini's edition suggests the following schematic representation of the relationships among the known exemplars of the  $\beta$ -group:



<sup>42</sup> *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie* 69; his «Postilla lulliana» agrees with my assessment: «Ne consegue la possibilità di ipotizzare una sistemazione di M accanto ad I in dipendenza di un comune antecedente  $\omega$ » (341).

TABLE 1

	N (EGLT)	M (ACDFHI)
87.7	par deffaulte de charité	<i>omitted</i>
87.11	plus sage	<i>omitted</i>
89.13	noblesse de courage (after courage] et greigneur EGLT)	<i>omitted</i>
143.8	et faire grans	<i>omitted</i>
156.8-9	se remembre le chevalier de Dieu a ses besoins, et par l'esperance	<i>omitted</i>
166.1	force	ce
172.8	la noblesse	l'ordre
177.8	noblesse et a	<i>omitted</i>
177.11	digne	<i>omitted</i>

TABLE 2

	EL(T)	GN
85.14-15	l'ordonnement	l'ordonnance
120.13-15	il s'ensuiroit que ce qui est et ce qui ne est fust office de chevalier	<i>omitted</i>
121.17-19	justice et luxure sont contraires, et chevalerie est pour maintenir justice, donc chevalier luxurieux est contraire a chevalerie; et se	<i>omitted</i>
126.7	<i>omitted</i>	<i>after cremeur] de Dieu</i>
137.15-18	Et doit l'escuyer moult deligenment escouter, entendre et retenir ces choses en telle maniere que il sache acorder l'office de chevalerie aux choses qui appartiennent a la foy (escouter, entendre et retenir] scavoir L)	<i>omitted</i>

138.19	soit	est
153.3	que il soit loé se il est hardy et	<i>omitted</i>
168.18-19	l'aulture est pechié par trop petite quantité	<i>omitted</i>
175.2-3	se concordent les chevaliers	<i>omitted</i>
176.5-6	<i>omitted</i>	<i>after ordonne] et maintient</i>
177.6	<i>omitted</i>	<i>after gette] hors<sup>43</sup></i>

**TABLE 3<sup>44</sup>**

	EG	LT	N
97.12	Nostre	<i>omitted</i>	Nostre (EGN)
124.5	<i>omitted</i>	<i>after nous] nous</i>	nous (LNT)
128.14	chevalier	chevalerie	chevalier (EGN)
129.14	mais	<i>omitted</i>	mais (EGN)
139.17	le samedi	le sabat T, le sabbaz L	le samedi (EGN)
142.10	recoit	recoivent	recoit (EGN)
164.13	en lui	encline L, enclin T	<i>missing portion of text</i>

<sup>43</sup> This reading is shared by M.

<sup>44</sup> The readings at 97.12 and 142.10 are my additions. My own comparisons, just as they have identified non-N *lectiones singulares*, have also identified additional readings in which N shares: for GLN(T), 4; for ELN(T), 13; for EGN(T), 30. Additional shared readings include EGN without T (2), ET (1), GN (1), and LT (1).

	<b>ET</b>	<b>GL</b>	<b>N</b>
120.7	radreciez	adrechies G, adressez L	radrechies (ENT)
125.7	esgart	regart	regart (GLN)
157.11-12	comment auroit il mercy des hommes non puissans et mesaisiez	<i>omitted</i>	<i>omitted</i> (GLN)
168.20	amoisonnee	amesuree	amoyenne (N)
	<b>EL</b>	<b>GT</b>	<b>N</b>
73	Prologus E, Prohesme L	<i>omitted</i>	<i>omitted</i> (GNT)
80.5	<i>omitted</i>	sa	<i>clause omitted</i> (N)
94.2-3	il convient qu'il ait maistre qui soit cousturier ou charpentier	<i>omitted</i>	<i>omitted</i> (GNT)
112.10	<i>omitted</i>	after povre] gens	<i>omitted</i> (ELN)
143.1	chevalier	<i>after adoubé]</i> <i>omitted</i>	<i>phrase omitted</i> (N)
147.19	en tout	<i>omitted</i>	<i>omitted</i> (GNT)

**TABLE 4**

	<b>EGL(T)</b>	<b>N</b>
85.2	<i>omitted</i>	<i>after mil]</i> autres
85.5-6	admené en lieu et en temps (temps] tant L)	donné grace
85.6	<i>omitted</i>	<i>after je ay]</i> eu
85.8	de son ordre	<i>omitted</i>

85.14-15	qui est fait pour recouvrer	ouquel est contenu
85.17-18	nouveaulx	<i>omitted</i>
86.1	seront	sont
86.2-3	et ne auront esté obeissans a la doctrine de chevalerie	<i>omitted</i>
86.9	<i>after</i> au] noble	<i>omitted</i>
86.9	<i>after</i> homme] noble	<i>omitted</i>
86.10	en ordre de chevalerie	chevalier
86.11	du dit	de ce
86.11	ce que aucunefois il lise	qu'il
87.13	En après	Et puis
87.15	abile (abile L, habile G)	digne
88.1-2	entre toutes les bestes, esleu cheval et le donna a celuy homme qui fait	fu le cheval donné a celui qui avoit
88.3-4	celuy homme out nom	fu appelle <sup>45</sup>
88.15	commencemens	commandemens
88.18	commencemens	commandemens
88.19	se commencent	sont
96.13-14	du tort qui luy est fait	se aucun tort y a
96.14	luy soit fait	soit
96.14	satisfacion	corrigie
97,title	qui appartient a	de
97.1	chevalier	chevalerie

<sup>45</sup> This reading is shared by I as are those listed for N in this table at 136.7; 136.10; 142.17; 142.18.

97.1	<i>omitted</i>	<i>after</i> chevalier] ce qu'il doit faire
97.4	commencemens	commandemens
97.7	le fevre ou EG(T), le mareschel L	<i>omitted</i>
97.7	font leur	fait son
97.8	qu'ilz doivent et ont	qu'il la
97.9	et deffendre	<i>omitted</i>
97.10	le Pere	<i>omitted</i>
97.15	Dieu	<i>omitted</i>
98.4	<i>after</i> amys] ainsi L, <i>omitted</i> EG(T)	et sont
98.6	attendons EL, entendons G	devons
136, title	recevoir	entrer en
136.2	se confesse des EL(T) (des] de ses G)	confesse les
136.5	se il est net	quant il sera absolz
136.7	aucune	que ce soit en une
136.9	sollenez	seulement
136.10	ce jour	<i>omitted</i>
136.10	mains	pluseurs <sup>46</sup>
136.11	adoubé a EL(T) (a] <i>omitted</i> G)	fait
136.12	doint	donne
136.15	celuy jour	<i>omitted</i>
137.3	mesprisier	desprisier
137.5	a	ara

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<sup>46</sup> M reads *plusieurs gens* here.

137.12	<i>omitted</i>	<i>after articles] de la foy<sup>47</sup></i>
137.13	<i>omitted</i>	<i>after commandemens] de la loy<sup>48</sup></i>
138.4	que	<i>omitted</i>
138.4	soient	<i>omitted</i>
138.9	jugié	<i>omitted</i>
138.15	Nostre Dame Sainte	la Vierge
139.10	transible	transitoire <sup>49</sup>
139.11	vrays	vertus et
139.14-15	sur le mont EGL, <i>omitted</i> T	ou mont
139.16	ameras	<i>omitted</i>
140.4	dix	<i>omitted</i>
140.9	<i>omitted</i>	<i>after penitance] confession<sup>50</sup></i>
140.9	·VIJ·	<i>omitted</i>
140.10	<i>omitted</i>	<i>after sacramens] que</i>
140.10	sauver	savoir
140.14	<i>omitted</i>	<i>after bien] tout</i>
141.5-6	a son office	<i>omitted</i>
141.6	en soy	celle
141.8-9	et la vertu	<i>omitted</i>
141.10	vertueus	en vertus
142.3	et	<i>after deffait] ou</i>
142.14-15	et en signifiante de charité	et de charité

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<sup>47</sup> This reading is shared by A and H.

<sup>48</sup> This reading is shared by A, C, and I.

<sup>49</sup> This reading is shared by C, I, and M.

<sup>50</sup> I reads *ou confession* here.



142.17	grant	<i>omitted</i>
142.18	grant	<i>omitted</i>
143.1	fait et adoubé EG(T), (adoubé] ordonné L)	<i>omitted</i>
143.10	seigneur	chevalier
143.11	au chevalier nouvel et	<i>omitted</i>
143.13	<i>omitted</i>	<i>after</i> autres] chevaliers en
176.7	privé	prince
176.7	chevalier	chevalerie
176.10	chevalier	chevalerie
176.13	<i>omitted</i>	<i>after</i> l'ancienneté de] chevalerie et
176.13-14	de chevalier	<i>omitted</i>
176.21	<i>omitted</i>	<i>after</i> honnorer] chevalerie et
176.22	chevalier	<i>omitted</i>
176.22	son corps	soy meismes
176.23	bien EGL, honnestement L	<i>omitted</i>
177.11	tort	tout

## TABLE 5

	ADFH	CIM
75.1-2	Cy finent les titres des chapitres du livre de l'Ordre de Chevalerie, et après commence (Cy fine le prologue et la table des rubriques de ce livret A)	<i>omitted</i> (Cy finent les articles de chapitres du livre de l'Ordre de Chevalerie M) <sup>51</sup>

<sup>51</sup> In this one instance, M agrees substantially with ADFH rather than with CI. Because the instance is a rubric, it seems to me difficult to base any conclusion against my classification on this piece of information, particularly since the preponderance of evidence points to a CIM classification. A rubric might reasonably be expected to be more readily subject to contamination or independent scribal initiative than would integral parts of the text.

94.8-95.1	<i>omitted</i>	a cousdre d'un charpentier, tout aussi seroit il desconvenable chose que escuyer aprinst (a cousdre] de l'apprendre I, <i>after</i> charpentier] ou d'aulture I)
143.5	scevent	sauront CM, saront I
144.1	Tout	Dont C, Donques IM
149.16	mye ( <i>omitted</i> H)	nullement
152.4	<i>omitted</i>	<i>after</i> delinquerunt] Pour povreté plusieurs ont fait fautes CM (fautes] faulceté M), c'est a dire que par povret plusieurs ont delinquié I
159.10	<i>omitted</i>	<i>after</i> sens] et industrie
165.17	<i>omitted</i>	<i>after</i> egal] a lui
166.11	<i>omitted</i>	de corps

**TABLE 6**

	<b>ADFH</b>	<b>CIM</b>
98.16	font AFH, <sup>52</sup> sont D	ont
137.6	<i>omitted</i> ( <i>passage missing</i> A)	faire
139.10	transible	transitoire <sup>53</sup>
140.10	tous	nous tous

<sup>52</sup> Minervini's apparatus lists this reading only for F (*Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie* 188), but both A and H clearly read *font* as well.

<sup>53</sup> This reading is shared by N.

142.4	<i>omitted</i> DFH, estre honoré A	honnourer
142.4	<i>omitted</i>	cheualerie

**TABLE 7**

	<b>ADFHI</b>	<b>CM</b>
88.20	le chevalier	chevalerie
98.11	de raison	<i>omitted</i>
98.12	<i>omitted</i>	<i>after</i> fait] tout
136.20	jangleurs	jangleries
137.3	l'ordre de ( <i>phrase omitted</i> A)	<i>omitted</i>
138.1	chinq I, xii A, xiiii DFH	sept
143.10	feste de ADFH ( <i>clause</i> <i>omitted</i> I)	<i>omitted</i>

**TABLE 8**

	<b>ACDFH</b>	<b>IM</b>
139.17-18	le samedi c'est a dire le dimanche ACDF, les dimances H	le dimanche
141.1	l'escuier	<i>omitted</i>
142.24	doit	<i>omitted</i>
143.1	et adoubé chevalier	<i>omitted</i>
143.9	<i>omitted</i>	donner a roys d'armes et heraulx M, donner au heraulx d'armes I
143.9	<i>omitted</i>	comme il est acoustume d'anciennete
143.12	chevaliers	<i>omitted</i>

147.15-16	le adevance ADFH, le avance C	<i>omitted</i>
147.18	et signifie	<i>omitted</i>
177.3	<i>omitted</i>	<i>after comparoison]</i> Donques

**TABLE 9**

	<b>ACDFHI</b>	<b>M</b>
88.15	l'ordre de chevalerie ACDFH, <i>omitted</i> I	son ordre
98.9	maintiennent la foy	la maintiennent
99.16-17	haioit et destruoit ACDFH, destruisoit et heoit I	destruoit
136.7-8	annees ACDF, de l'annee A, annueles I	<i>omitted</i>
136.10	mains hommes CDFHI, mainte honneur H, <i>omitted</i> A	plusieurs gens <sup>54</sup>
137.16	entendre CDFHI, <i>passage</i> <i>missing</i> A	<i>omitted</i>
138.7	Dieu soit ACDFH, <i>omitted</i> I	Dieu est
138.18-19	<i>after</i> dame] Le second est croire que Jhesucrist soit né	<i>omitted</i>
138.19	tiers ACDFH, iii <sup>e</sup> I	second
140.13	auquelles	en quoy
140.14	tres ce qu'il ACDF, des ce qu'il HI	quant il

<sup>54</sup> N reads *pluseurs hommes* here.

140.17	l'escuier et	l'escuier qui
141.10	donner	ordonner
142.13	<i>after</i> ceindre] l'espee	<i>omitted</i>
142.14	<i>omitted</i>	<i>after</i> justice] l'espee
148.9	<i>after</i> aussi] le D, comme le ACFH, que le I	<i>omitted</i>
148.17	atout ACDF, avecques H, <i>omitted</i> I	pour
148.19	en la fiance ACDFH, <i>omitted</i> I	a la segnifiance <sup>55</sup>
177.3	<i>omitted</i>	<i>after</i> comparoison] que d'autres
177.3	doit	<i>omitted</i>
177.4-5	par laquelle il est en l'ordre de chevalerie. Lequel courage	<i>omitted</i>
177.6	<i>omitted</i>	<i>after</i> gette] hors <sup>56</sup>

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## RESUM

Aquest treball sobre la traducció medieval francesa del *Llibre de l'orde de cavalleria* dona una descripció detallada de dos manuscrits no tractats a l'edició de Minervini de 1971, i els situa dintre el *stemma codicum* que aquest editor havia proposat.

<sup>55</sup> L shares M's reading here.

<sup>56</sup> This reading is shared by N.